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487 the bed of the stream; these are held in position between upright
 491 poles set V-wise in the boulders, to which are fastened horizontal
 [322] bamboo poles as railings. As they have no saws, the 'plank' is
 a tree trunk with one side trimmed flat with the axe. Even more
 elaborate bridges are sometimes made at high levels over streams
 liable to flood, from tree-fork to tree-fork on opposite banks.

361 Though, as has been said above, agricultural conditions
 nowadays determine village sites, hill-tops or rocky slopes remain
 favourite sites, and become commoner as you penetrate farther into
 the Abujmar hills. The traditional arrangement is a street some
 [363] twenty-five yards wide between parallel lines of long-houses; at
 one end of the street is the *gotul-lon* or village dormitory, generally
 within a rounded bamboo fence, and sometimes in front of this
 dormitory will be seen the *udam-garia* or seat of honour of the
hasyeg-gaita and possibly also of the secular headman (*gaita* or *peda*),
 as well as the stones on which the other village elders sit around
 with them in conclave; but the *udam-garia* custom is not found in
 all parts of the hills. Sometimes the shrine of the *Nar-Talughi* or
 Village Mother is actually inside the dormitory fencing, and she is
 often housed there for a while when a village is being shifted.

[378] There are, as a rule, no *bari* (vegetable gardens) attached to each
 house as amongst most Gonds, including the Bison-horn Marias
 and the Murias of Bastar; but sometimes the *hasyeg-gaita* has
 a small tobacco *bari* attached to the dormitory in the centre of
 the main street. The *Gazetteer* (p. 30) speaks of the 'common granary'
 as standing in the broad street; but with one partial exception,
 Nugur village in Kutru Mar in the Indrawati valley, I have never
 seen this. The villagers generally construct a row of granaries
 343 (*menda* or *wijja-dodi*) on piles at the side or rear of the main village
 251 street, sometimes nearer the *penda* fields than the village; this row
 can hardly be called a 'common granary', as each villager has his
 own granary in the row for his own private food and seed store,
 the granaries being built together only for convenience, as they
 can then be watched at night by one watchman for the whole
 village, sleeping in a special hut at the side of the granaries or under
 a granary. At Nugur there were big matting bins in the main
 street in which all the rice seed of the village was stored; but here
 [426] the village had come under the economic thralldom of some Teli
 tradesmen, who for years had advanced rice to the cultivators.
 The bins were left in the collective charge of the headman and elders,
 and any villager could help himself to seed on the understanding
 that at harvest he would replace it with 50 per cent. interest,
 the Teli owners being also free to remove the surplus from time
 to time.

343 other minor grains. Where timber is not available, these sties are
 231 made from bamboos, or even from stones. Similar but, of course,
 far smaller structures are made to serve as hen-coops, resting
 generally against the side or front of the houses.

● 778 The shrine of the Village Mother, as has been stated above,
 361 is sometimes actually inside the village dormitory, sometimes just
 [824] outside it, and sometimes at a considerable distance from the actual
 village, in a grove, if possible of *saja* (*Terminalia tomentosa*—every-
 where the sacred tree of the Gond) trees. Sometimes there is
 also in the village, often at the end of the street opposite the
 dormitory, the hut-temple of the *pen* or clan-god, containing the
 log-frame image of the god. This will normally be found only in
 the village of the *pen-wadda's* or priest of the clan-god; but some-
 times, where the villages of the clan are far apart, there may be
 two copies of the clan-god, or the god may go to visit other villages,
 and have a resting-shed in each; or he may have begotten a son
 to deputize for him in the distant village; I have seen in a *pen-rawar*
 (clan-god's temple) both the *pen* himself and an embryo 'son' in
 the second of his three years' 'gestation'. The *pen* is always
 covered by a shed; but the Village Mother sometimes is just a
 cairn or a basket-cylinder filled with stones, or a low table-stone
 at the foot of a *saja* tree, and close by there is a small shed of grass
 thatch with open sides in which are kept the cooking pots, ladles
 and sacrificial knife used at ceremonial feasts. The sacred grove
 may in very rare cases, in villages near the edge of the lowlands,
 have also a hut-temple of Danteshwari Mai or Maolai, the most
 revered or feared Hindu deities of Bastar.

343 There will be found well apart from the houses and the rest of
 841 the village a menstruation hut in many villages, known as *pedawo'-*
gha's to the Hill Marias, or sometimes as *dola-lon*. Here all menstru-
 ating women are secluded from the village for a week every month.
 Sometimes the hut has a single room, about 6 by 5 feet, with walls
 3 feet high, with no windows and only a small door little bigger
 than the entrance to an English kennel; sometimes there are two
 rooms separated from each other by a partition, so that when a girl
 is afraid of being secluded by herself a duenna may sleep within
 sound of her without actual contact. The door of the seclusion
 room always opens away from the village, so that the affected
 woman may get out at night to answer the call of nature without
 overlooking the village or being visible to any villager. Special
 cooking pots and utensils are kept in the seclusion room, or else
 the woman's food is cooked outside and left by her door for her.
 [FRY 824] The roof is often covered with seed-bearing twigs of castor-oil plants,
 in all parts of India regarded as very efficacious against magic.

[Text continues on p.106]

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

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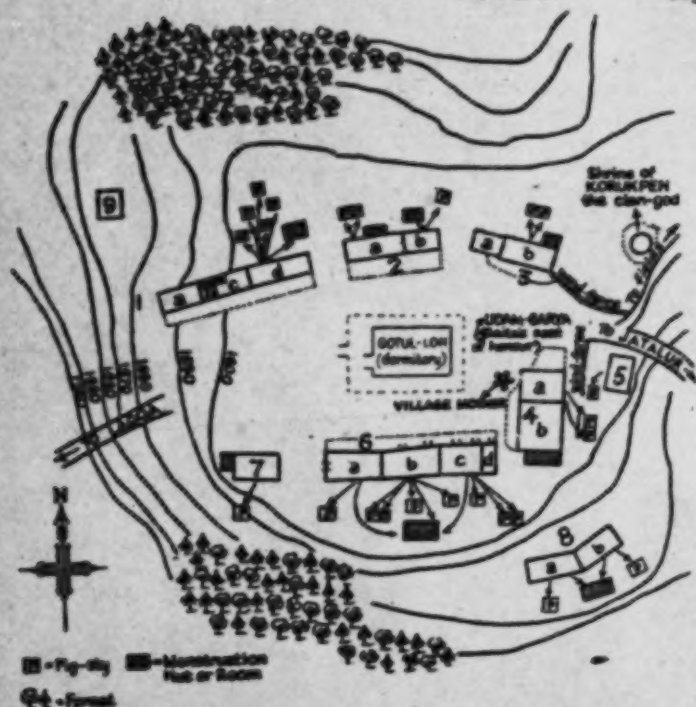
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FIGURE 5

MAP OF KARANGAL VILLAGE OF THE PARLO HILL MARIA CLAN, as occupied in February 1930. (Contours approximate.)

House-group 1 (a) Empty; built for Deda Hunga, when serving for MURRA's niece; since marrying her, lives in KURMER. (b) P. BAIYYA's mother. (c) P. BAIYYA, wife and son. (d) P. MURRA, brother of BAIYYA, his wife, his son P. BANDA, wife and daughter.

2. (a) P. DOGA and wife. (b) P. KUTTA, wife, son. DOGA and KUTTA are elder and younger brothers, but separate in cultivation.

3. (a) Empty, since death of P. MURRA's elder brother's widow. (b) P. MURRA and wife.

4. (a) P. BAIYYA, KAYVA-gaita, and wife. (b) his son P. GURRA, wife and son. Ruined house of P. KUTTA, who had left village.

5. (a) P. MURRA and wife. (b) P. KUTA, 2 wives, 1 son. (c) P. KEVE, wife and 2 sons. (d) KEVE's mother. KUTA, MURRA and KEVE regard themselves as brothers, KUTA being the eldest; they are paternal third cousins. Their fields and pigs are separate, but menstruation hut common.

7. P. PANDA, wife, 1 son, 2 daughters, widowed mother.

8. (a) P. HRODA, wife and son. (b) P. MASA (his wife had eloped). HRODA is the elder, MASA the younger brother.

9. The house of a Rawat (herdsman), well apart from Maria houses.

The wind-fence is a stockade of thick poles.

The dotted lines are bamboo wickerwork fences.

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841 But in many villages instead of a communal *padawo'gha'i* there is a separate hut at the back of each long-house for the use of the residents of each house contained in the long-house, called by the same name; or else in each house there is a *padawo'gha'i* room known generally as *hala*,¹ with a door opening at the back of the house, separated from the rest of the house by a *binda* or low mud threshold about three feet from the back door. It is absolutely [104] *pole* or taboo for any male to set foot in the menstruation hut or room; I once saw a son who wanted to enter the house by the back door take a flying leap from outside so as to land beyond the *binda*. In every *hala* room there is a complete set of cooking vessels and utensils for the woman to use while she is in her courses, when it is *pole* for her to touch any of the regular household articles. The menstruation hut or room is also the scene of all child-births.

485 There is in some big villages a resting hut for travellers or State officials, known as the *paik-gotul* or *Kos-gotul*; *paik* is the word used for a member of the old militia, and *Kos* is the general word used by all Gonds for Hindus. This may also have a stable attached.

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[35] The sketch-plan on page 105 illustrates a fairly typical Hill Maria village, crowning a mountain spur; it represents the site occupied in 1930 by the Kutru Mar village of Karangal. The long-houses here had nearly all of them bamboo fences between them and the street, running along their front about three or four feet from their front wall. The doors have been shown only in the houses in long-house no. 6. The fences only give a little privacy, and spaces useful for storing fuel; they are not garden (*bari*) enclosures. Bamboo is very plentiful around Karangal; where it is less common, these fences are absent. The stockades of thick poles at the eastern side of this village were made to afford protection from the fierce and cold wind blowing off the hills from the north-east. The Village Mother's shrine was a cylindrical basket of stones resting on five boulders in the open space between the dormitory and the *Asaryag-gaika's* house, near the latter's *adam-garia* seat of honour. This seat was a flat slab of stone resting on five thin slabs stuck vertically in the ground. The *pen-vasar* shrine of the clan-god Koruk Pen was a round hut surrounded with a bamboo fence to the east of the village by the side of the path leading to the *penda* fields; there is another shrine of this god at Nugur, a Parilo clan village a few miles away in the Indrawati valley. In Karangal the only non-Maria was a Maria-speaking Rawat herdsman, who was allowed a house site at some distance from the main street;

¹ Or *ala*; the aspirate is often dropped by Hill Marias.

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166 When shifting is to begin, all the parish lands being lands of
 361 the clan, the *wadda'i* or priest of the clan-god is usually consulted;
 787 he is generally himself the *leski* or medium whom the god possesses;
 791 and if the god through him directs that the village should be shifted,
 791 he leads the villagers to the new site; sometimes the *wadda'i*
 791 himself is not a medium, but keeps a *leski* as an assistant. At the
 791 new site the *karyeq-gaita* clears a small patch of ground in honour
 of the Village Mother, and on this offers an egg, some grain and
 flowers in her name, over which he places stones in a basketry
 cylinder or as a cairn. This will remain as her shrine in the new
 village, sometimes, as we have seen, inside the dormitory fencing,
 sometimes outside it but in the main village street, or sometimes
 right outside the village in a grove, a shed being erected over it.
 The removal of the cairn would be an omen of disaster, only to be
 avoided by shifting the village. The Orcha villagers had only
 a small table-stone at the foot of a *seja* tree in a grove to mark
 their Village Mother. Handawada, besides a cairn, had a forked
 stick of *seja* wood oiled and polished, and whipped round the fork
 with *koss* silk whipping, with a leaning thatched roof to protect
 her from the elements. Whatever form her shrine or representation
 may take, it is left behind when the village is deserted, and not
 shifted to the new village; for it is regarded as valuable evidence
 of the clan or parish property in the land. The only things removed
 are the pots in which grain, etc., is cooked at the Mother's feasts,
 [184] the cooking utensils and the knives, which the *karyeq-gaita* or
 religious headman must himself carry under his arm, not on his head,
 which is taboo, to the shed erected to house them near the Mother's
 shrine in the new village.

361 In the villages which I have seen being shifted, the earliest
 166 buildings to be erected have been the village dormitory, the
 houses of the 'advance guard', the religious and the secular
 headmen, and the menstruation hut. Villagers often put up
 their pig-sties before their own houses. A temporary dormitory
 is often put up to house the bachelors, and replaced after the
 houses have been built by a more permanent and elaborate
 structure.

The villagers remove all their utensils and household goods
 from their old to their new houses when the village is shifted.
 But they move no building materials; they leave the deserted
 houses to the mercy of the elements, which means that they
 are soon choked in the mass of high grass and scrub jungle
 that immediately springs up on the deserted site, and probably
 burnt down when the forest undergrowth is fired in the following
 spring.

[text continues on p.112]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949

AW32 Gond AW32

Hill Maria

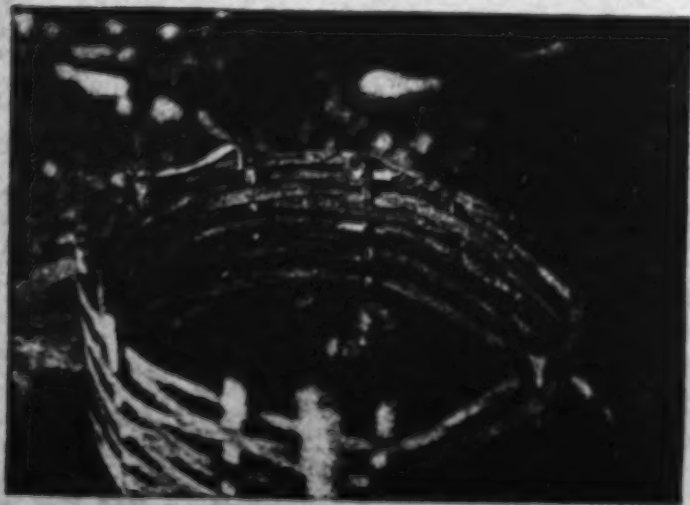
PLATE X



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THE VILLAGE MOTHER'S SHRINE AT ORCHA

The stone at the foot of the *saia* tree trunk on the right is the Village Mother; the shed contains her cooking pots, utensils, etc.



THE VILLAGE MOTHER AT HANDAWADA

consisting of an oiled forked *saia* stick, bound with bees silk. The lean-to thatched roof was removed to enable the photograph to be taken

[Facing p. 110]

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The essential features of the *hala* or menstruation room have already been described.

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Although also used for storing provisions and goods, the *lonu* room is essentially the room devoted to the Departed (*Hanal*), and is, indeed, often referred to as the *Hanal Kholi*, or Room of the Departed. Here in a corner rests the *Hanal Kunda* or Pot of the Departed, which it is taboo for the husband to touch, and in which the housewife deposits a little meal for the departed ancestors whenever she grinds; and here is the *Hanal O'idai*, or the Hearth of the Departed, on which she cooks the first new grain at each of the new grain eating festivals; the ashes of this are never swept away. There is never a back door to the *lonu*. As no space should be wasted, there is always an *alpanji* platform in the *lonu* for storing provisions, especially jungle produce; but it is never slept on, as women only may sleep in the *lonu*, and it is taboo for them to sleep anywhere except on the floor.

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The walls of houses are generally made of vertical pole stockading. The side walls are of poles of a uniform height of from 3 to 3½ feet, while the end walls start from this height at the sides and rise to 6 or 7 feet at the centre; the latter at intervals have forked tops to support the horizontal beams parallel to the sides on which the thatched roof rests. There are generally three of these on either side of the central and highest beam, which is the roof-tree. The roof-tree is supported at intervals along its length by other fork-topped poles resting in the ground, generally built into the partitions between the rooms, or serving as posts for the inside doors, and varying accordingly in number. They are shown on the three ground-plans on page 111 in small circles along the dotted line representing the line of the roof-tree; that dotted line in the Kurmer and Handawada plans should correspond with the partitions shown closely parallel to them. The inner partitions, including those dividing one house in a long-house from another,

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goddess of wealth who lives in the house, and the effect would be to drive her away. Their solicitude for this goddess is the more noticeable, as the Maria Gond's house and furniture probably constitute one of the least valuable human habitations on the face of the globe.

Whoever gave the authors this information must have been drawing on his imagination. There is no 'goddess of wealth' among the Marias. The modern Maria becomes hilarious over the idea that it is in any way wrong to have intercourse with his wife in the house; if any consideration deterred the older generation, it was the close proximity of the *hanal kunda* (Pot of the Departed) in the *lonu* room of the house, so associated with the cult of the *hanal* or Departed.

171

Dr. Hutton has referred me to the account of the Kadar tribe of Cochin (*Centres of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. III, p. 214). The Kadar also regard (or used to regard) it as taboo to have sexual intercourse in the house, but husband and wife meet by day at a trysting place in the forest.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

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are made either of similar but lighter pole stockading, or of what the Hill Marias call *tum*, that is, fencing of grass fastened in vertical bundles between pairs of horizontal bamboo struts, which themselves are fastened at intervals to poles planted in the ground. The floors, walls and partitions are plastered with mud, the walls on the inside, and the partitions on both sides; the women do the plastering, while their men look on. They often do not plaster the veranda wall at all. They sometimes make the side walls of bamboo wattlework instead of pole stockading. They do not char or otherwise treat the bases of the poles before fixing them in the ground. The first post of the house is almost always of the sacred *saja* tree; I have not seen this adorned with bundles of thatching grass in the manner of other Gonds (cf. Russell and Hiralal, III, p. 122), but I have seen two *saja* trees near a house under construction so adorned. The youths sometimes paint the plastered partitions in white with rows of dots, with swastikas like those tattooed on girls' faces (see p. 74 above), or with crude crocodiles or tigers; I have seen women's breasts represented in relief.

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[824]

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[824]

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The grass (rarely palm) thatch rests on bamboos tied across the roof beams, and is secured against wind by bamboos criss-crossed outside the thatch. The grass generally used is *dab* (*Pollinea argentea*) which appears in the *penda* fields after the first harvest has been reaped, and in the second or third year covers them so thickly that they have to be abandoned. In March, after the harvest has been finished, you will see near all the recently abandoned *penda* clearings extensive *dab* cuttings, the grass being stacked on rough log platforms about a foot and a half above the ground in readiness for re-thatching the houses just before the break of the monsoon. The men re-thatch houses, granaries, pig-sties and temples every year.

The usual form of door is a rectangle of split bamboo wickerwork sliding between two pairs of upright wooden posts. The doorway has often a wicker-work threshold from one to two feet high, over which the sliding door fits. There are always doors in the doorways leading from outside into the veranda, from the veranda to the *angadi*, and at the back of the menstruation room; generally also in the doorways leading into the *lows*; but I have never seen a door in the front doorway of the menstruation room. Sometimes the whole of this room is not taboo to men, the *binda* or mud threshold that marks the limit of the tabooed ground (see p. 106) being constructed across the floor of the room some two feet beyond the front entrance. Occasionally more elaborate doors will be seen, made of a small hewn wooden plank with tangs of wood left

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949,

AW32 Gond AW32

Hill Maria

Bison Horn Maria

DEITIES

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in the clan; often the same man is both religious headman and secular headman (*gaita*, *pada*), and these functions were probably always combined before the growing interference of the State with village life and the excessive demands for forced labour and supplies began to make the secular headmanship a burden to be avoided by the true leader of the village and put on to the village simpleton. 622 791

The Village Mother is always dealt with in Hill and Bison-horn villages through the *kasyeq-gaita* and the *perma* respectively; but she neither enters into the body of a medium nor can be consulted through one like the clan-god. Though it be through her that the *kasyeq-gaita's* eggs are addled or other omens of ill or indications that the village should shift are sent, yet to make plain her will the medium of the clan-god, that is the clan-priest (the *waddai* or *modul-waddai*), is sent for, and through his mouth the clan-god expounds the will of the Unseen Powers. It is tempting to regard her as the personification of the female and the clan-god as that of the male element in the reproductive powers of the Earth or Bhum; needless to say, there are no Maria theologians to worry themselves over such distinctions, and it is not a clear-cut one, since some clans have a clan-goddess, not a god; e.g. Oghal Muttai, goddess of the Dhurwa clan, and Gumtuli, goddess of the Padali clan of Padalibhum at Adnar. This conception, nevertheless, does to a considerable extent clarify the fundamental relation between the Earth, the clan-god and the Village Mother. The other point to be remembered is that the clan-god is the Earth in its dealings with the clan, and the Mother the Earth in its dealings with the village. No woman or girl may take part in the festivals, public sacrificial meals, worship and intercession of either clan-god or Village Mother. 776 791 771 618

The Earth, then, as clan-god, is the god of nourishment and reproduction, and of life itself; the Marias are his children, fed by him. For them to raise their sustenance he divided up the land among the clans, and the clan-area among the villages, and in each clan and village he appointed priests or headmen who alone might communicate with him, and to whose first ancestor he revealed the clan and village boundaries, which knowledge has been handed down from father to son. The Maria leaves his *penda* slope for another after two or three years because the god is suffering from having too much nourishment extracted from that slope, but he will return to it when the god has recovered from his exhaustion. Children are but one of the god's crops. 776 618

In form, we have seen, the clan-god of Marias of both kinds and of Murias, is a framework of three parallel *saja* logs held together by cross-pieces of bamboo or *saja*, to which The Clan-god they are lashed by cords of *siazi* creeper or twisted 778

● 778

thongs of the outer rind of bamboos. Where *saja* trees are scarce, he may be made entirely of bamboos, but will be lodged in a hut under a *saja* tree. The junctions of the logs and the cross-pieces are adorned with bunches of peacock and jungle-cock feathers, and the ends of the logs with rupees or spirals of peacock quill or bands of brass and silver. At the first-fruits ceremonies his shed is adorned with plaited fringes of the stalks and ears of the new grains, or bunches of bean and pulse pods; and he is brought forth to have the blood of the sacrificed victims sprinkled upon him.

[782]

Halbas, Telangas and Murias have precisely similar gods, if the logs composing them are more elaborately adorned and sometimes carved. Their generic name in Bastar is Anga Deo or Pat Deo, 'Log-God'. The central log is the essential part, for the other two logs are added primarily to enable the god to be borne on the shoulders of four men when he goes forth to a festival or a witch hunt. The Jhoria log-god at Narainpur had a special nose for witches, and the late Raja Bhairam Deo, great-grandfather of the present Maharaja, installed a copy of it in the palace at Jagdalpur; for witch hunts the god used to be brought in from Narainpur while the palace copy was sent to Narainpur during his absence. I found that the palace copy was in 1927 being used generally without reference to the Narainpur prototype for detecting witchcraft around Jagdalpur, a fee of Rs. 5 being paid into the State Treasury to the credit of the Temple Court of Wards whenever surrounding Murias requisitioned its services.

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As has been observed on page 51, there is a tradition among the Hill Marias (of Chhota Dongar, Mangnar and Barsur Mar *parganas*) that the great log-god Pat Raja of the Jate clan of Mohnar in Mangnar *pargana* with the help of his wife's brother, Use Modia, the log-god of the Lekami clan of the Bison-horn village of Ghotpal, near Barsur, divided up both Hill and Bison-horn Marias into clans, in the old days when there was regular inter-marriage between the Hill and Bison-horn Marias. The legend does not appear to be known to the latter, who have only vague traditions of having at some remote date descended to their present lands from the Abujhmar hills, where occasionally they say that their clan-god still resides.

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It is certain that most of the Hill Maria clan-gods have relationship claimed for them with Pat Raja of Mohnar. The Usendi clan of Orcha has his younger brother Wikir Hunga at Jagunda, the Deda clan of Kurmer have another younger brother, Nule Harma, the Dhurwa clan of Gomagal have his sister Oghal Mutta'i, the Hill Maria Marvi clan of Toqtoli in Mangnar *pargana* have his sister's son Mara-Magh, while the Gurme clan of the Barsur Mar

I: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949

AW32 Good AW32

Bison Horn Maria

PLATE XVI



THE SACRIFICE BEFORE THE WIJJA-WETA
The offerings before the altar of bows

[facing p. 210]

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120

CEREMONIES

211

796 other villages. Though this is called the 'remains-eating' feast,
 yet actually fresh meat is killed and cooked, because women and
 girls, who are not allowed to attend the sacrifices, are equally
 [784] debarred from eating any part of the sacrificial victims. The day
 ends in *landa* drinking and dancing. In these first-fruits *pandum*
 [35] dances the bison-horn head-dresses used not to be worn, and in the
 dance following the *pandum* for new *mahua* and new mangoes men
 and women dancers dance together, and not separately as in all
 other Bison-horn Maria dances.

We come now to the great vernal sowing festival with its
 attendant dancing and hunting that takes place on or near the
 full moon day of Chait (March-April), and corresponds
 The Wijja Pandum, to the Chait-rai festival of the Bhattras, Parjas and
 Wijja Weta Murias. It starts on a Sunday, five or six days after
 and Jur Weta the *Marha Pandum*. *Landa* is brewed in profusion
 [273] in every house for days in advance, and as much *mahua* liquor
 procured from the excise shops as household funds and the excise
 rules permit. Sexual continence is, as in all these ceremonies,
 [834] the rule for the night before the festival begins, and in some villages
 is ensured by all the men sleeping together that night and until
 the last ceremony is over, generally in the *hadri-bera* field or at the
 place from which the ritual *weta* hunt sets off.

The *perma* fasts next morning, and after the men of the village
 have had their morning meal goes at about noon to the *mahua* tree
 in the *hadri-bera* or *wiji-erhu* (see pp. 205-6) field, with a supply of
 rice and an egg, and the men accompany him. He cuts a small
 bough off the tree, to which in some villages he first sacrifices a
 black cock. He clears and plasters with cow-dung and water the
 usual small rectangle of ground, and in the centre makes a hole in
 which he plants the *mahua* bough and a plant of *dab* (*Pollinea*
argentea) grass. In front of this he sprinkles rice and egg-shells,
 in which he sets an egg upright on its end in the name of the Village
 Mother, or of Bhū-deo and Bhū-devi. He then takes up a *datus*
 [515] or tooth-cleaning twig of *mahua*, splits it longitudinally in his teeth,
 and throws the split pieces three times on the ground. For the
 [787] pieces to fall one on the other like a saltire each time is the best of
 omens for the coming hunt and the ensuing harvest; for them to
 fall apart is a bad omen. Sometimes this consultation of the omens
 does not take place in the *hadri-bera* field, but in the forest at the
 place from which the ritual hunt is to start; there sometimes a
 rough altar of bows and arrows, as in the illustration opposite, is
 made, and the *perma*, facing the east, places on the ground before
 the altar three heaps of mixed bran and egg-shells in the name of
 each of the three Ban Kunwaris or Forest-maidens, and on each

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[778] heap offers an egg and a tooth-stick (*datun*), sometimes also a miniature bow and arrow; he then takes up each tooth-stick in turn, splits it and throws down the split halves to test the omens in the way already described, after praying with folded hands to the Forest-maidens for success in the hunt and protection from wild beasts. Then he takes an arrow off the altar, and, holding it by the shaft just above the feathering, cuts the top of each egg with the sharp edge of the arrow-head.

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224 The omens having thus been taken, and the bows and arrows of the altar, if any, reclaimed by their owners, all the men go off with their weapons in the *wela* ritual hunt to beat the forest for game. The women appear with pots full of cow-dung and water, into which they dip sprays of leaf and shower the foul water with fouler abuses on any laggards. If any animal is slain, the shedding of much blood on the ground is regarded as foreshadowing plentiful rainfall and a rich harvest; on the spot where it falls they cut little bits off the tips of its ears, nose, tongue, feet and tail, place each bit on a separate *saja* leaf on the ground in the name of the Forest-maidens or of Karenga Deo, and pray for a continuance of this good fortune. At the end of the hunt they take the carcasses of the animals back to the *mahua* bough erected in the name of the Village Mother in the *hadri-bera* field, and leave them there. They then go home for supper.

796 Towards midnight each man returns to the *hadri-bera* with his bow and arrows, a small packet of *kutki* and other grain seeds wrapped up in leaves, a little *mahua* liquor and a white cock; a pig is also brought for all the villagers. Some villages do not expect each man to bring a cock, but purchase a number of cocks by *sari-bori* subscription. The men hand over the packets of seed to the *perma*, who piles them on the ground in front of the *mahua* bough and places his sacrificial knife beside them. He then prostrates himself before the *mahua* bough and prays to the Village Mother for good and timely rain and bumper crops. He then puts each cock and the pig through the *tokana* rice-eating test, and sacrifices them one by one, cutting their heads off from the throat upwards, piling the heads all together near the *mahua* bough, and holding each body over the pile of seed-packets and the *mahua* bough to soak them well with blood; he then throws the bodies aside. Next he breaks with his knife in the Mother's name the egg which he had set up in the morning, and pours some *mahua* spirit on the ground before the *mahua* bough. The *perma* and the men of his family then roast and eat the heads of the cocks and the pig, and each other family the body of the cock contributed by it; when cocks have been bought by subscription, the *perma* alices

Bison Horn Maria

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a table-stone with a white pebble on it may be erected in the name of the clan-god under a *saja* tree. The *parma* sacrifices cocks and a pig or goat on behalf of the village in the usual way, and washes some new husked rice and *lutshi* and offers it to the god. The men cook and eat the sacrificial meat then and there. The wife-clan relatives may be present, but in most villages are not allowed to participate in the sacrificial rice and meat and are supplied with other rice and meat which they cook separately. The usual remains-eating feast takes place in the houses next day.

At the Jata Pandum, held somewhere near the full moon of Pus (December-January), they celebrate the eating of the first new beans, pulses, and the latest ripening grains. There is the usual public sacrifice for the men before the log-god or the Village Mother. In the south, towards the Dorla border, the festival is known as Chikur Pandum, and the sacrifices are always to a table-stone beneath a *saja* tree known as Dhania Deo, which, like the Bhattra Dhani, appears to be only another form of the earth-god. The only special feature of this *pandum* is that the domestic sacrifice and libations to the Departed in the house are often followed by a ceremony for weaning suckling children, the first food given being some of the rice and sacrificial meat cooked in the Pot of the Departed.

This takes place in Magh (January-February), soon after the Jata Pandum, and, as already observed, is preceded by the Kare *Wala* in which fields and open spaces are beaten for small game. I was unable to ascertain what other special features, if any, the festival has, or whether new grass and new bamboo are offered to the gods. Until the festival has been held it is *malu* or taboo to cut grass or bamboos or to start felling timber for *erka*, *parika* and *panda* cultivation.

The Bhimul Pandum comes very soon after the Kare Pandum. I have no detailed information. But it is a ceremony for ensuring

a good rainfall in the coming monsoon. It takes place by the Bhimul post in the *hadri-bera*, over which a booth of boughs is erected. Men and women attend. The booth is decorated with strings of mango leaves. The *parma* sacrifices a white cock and an egg, and pours *landa* over the Bhimul post; and men and women then empty over the post baskets containing a little of every kind of field produce. Men and women then sit in the open, and consume *landa*. All night the village women dance, led by the *parma*'s wife with an empty *landa* pot on her head or in her arms.

The Bhimul Pandum is really the last of the *pandum* held in all villages. It only remains to mention the Mandai or Deoguri

563 Pendri is now mainly a Marar village, its 451 inhabitants including only some forty Marias and sixty Halbas. They seem able to live in easy symbiosis with all Gonds, to whom they impart much of their agricultural skill. Their intrusion into these tribal areas, provided it is controlled, is therefore not a bad thing.

178 At Jharapapra there was a once familiar sight, the Halba log-god of the zamindari family, in type precisely similar to the clan-gods of the Hill Marias and the Halba log-gods at Chingnur near Bare Dongar and at other Halba centres in Bastar. The *Kutumb-Naik* headman of the Bare Dongar Halbas had told me in 1929 how some years before the then zamindar of Jharapapra had sent a party of Halbas to carry off the Chingnur log-god to Jharapapra, and how the god had resented this and 'flown' back to Chingnur from the first halting place of the god-snatchers.

000 Of the visits to Aundhi² and, next day, to Manpur³ in Koracha zamindari and some way along the Manpur-Panabaras road, there is little to say except that, generally speaking, the Drug Court of Wards regime in Panabaras and Aundhi seemed to be progressive, and the Drug District Council to do more for the Partially Excluded Areas than its Chanda counterpart.

[163] In the four Partially Excluded zamindaris of Drug the
427 aboriginals form well over sixty per cent. of the population. The worst feature of these estates is that there is a *theadari* system, originally akin to that once prevalent in Bastar, and that many of the *theadars*, especially those on whom the semi-permanent 'protected' status has been conferred, are non-aboriginal oppressors of the local Gonds and Marias, while comparatively few aboriginal headmen, except in Panabaras and Ambagarh-Chanki zamindaris, have been declared protected. The whole original conception was wrong, in that it involved conversion of the tribal headman or *gaontia* into a lessee or *theadar* of his village. Various examples have been given in *The Aboriginal Problem*³ of the way in which these Maria headmen were thus transformed into *theadars*, and then lost their villages in the great famines, or for other causes, to non-aboriginal intruders, who now rack-rent and oppress the surviving aboriginal tenants. We may give here one example, that of the village of Dokhla in Panabaras zamindari. This village was settled before 1861 by a Maria headman and ten other Marias. The headman absconded during the great famines at the turn of the century. Another Gond was then given the lease, but ultimately could not pay the lease-money and had to surrender the village.

² *Ordnance Survey of India*, Sheet 64D, ref. NQ5340.

³ *Ibidem*, Sheet 64D, ref. NQ8366.

⁴ Pp. 79-81.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949

AW32 Gond AW32

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Tati Munda of Tikampal, with the ' wooden ' horse or ' vehicle ' of the Tati clan-god Hunga

[Verrier Elton]

[End Plate 2]

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947

AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

Plate XXXV

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Siraha's swing at Ahr

[p. 130(A)]

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lower castes and that of buffaloes only by Shudras. This flesh is of special sanctity as through it men who worship her get power. She is the special Goddess of the warring class—the Kshatriyas. Being the family goddess of the Ruler, she is recognized as the ruling goddess by all classes of Hindus and aboriginals of the State.

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The Divine Right of Kings

The Maharaja is regarded as divine by all the Muria and Maria of the Jagdalpur Tehsil and by some of the northern Muria. Each ruler appends the word Deo to the end of his name, the other male members of his house calling themselves Singh, though to distinguish them from other Kshatriya the prefix Lal is added, as in Lal Kalindar Singh.

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The *gadi* or throne is held sacred and no one but the actual ruler may sit upon it. Should anyone break the rule, he would die.

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The ruler has special powers of intercession. His sacrifices, fasts, and oblations during the Dassera and Chaitrai festivals benefit not only himself but the members of the royal family and the people of the State. All the important deities of the State are brought to Jagdalpur during Dassera and worshipped on behalf of the ruler, his own worship being confined to the family goddess Danteshwari, Maoli and a few other gods. This worship keeps away disease from the people and cattle and results in good crops and universal happiness, as the deities remain pleased.¹

So strongly do the aboriginals believe this, that they greatly resent the Maharaja leaving the State even for a short time. His absence means a withdrawal of divine protection from cattle, crops and people.

Kadrengal

Kadrengal is the consort of Tallur Muttai, as Bangaram is the consort of Danteshwari. A story which I quote elsewhere² links him with the forest and the chase, and he is generally worshipped by the Muria before they set out on a ceremonial hunt. In some villages, however, Pati Deo takes his place.

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His name occurs from time to time, generally in association with Tallur Muttai, in the songs and legends. In the oldest mythology he plays the part which more modern people ascribe to Mahadeo.

With Tallur Muttai and Lingo, he lives in the ghotul and protects the boys and girls. Along with other deities he is worshipped and remembered at festivals and on most of the major occasions of Muria life.

Dulha Deo

Jaha chulha takh Dulha.—Where there is a hearth, there is Dulha Deo.

Dulha Deo is the marriage god and is supposed to preside not only over the wedding but over the marriage bed, its happiness and its fertility.

Dulha Deo is not an original Muria god. He is an immigrant from the Central Provinces, where he receives very much more attention than in Bastar. In Bastar he has a certain nuisance value as causing trouble during marriages, a rather expensive addition to the pantheon who must be placated for fear that he will make himself objectionable. His ill temper can easily be explained

¹ Private communication from Raj Bahadur Niranjana Singh.

² See page 45.

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776 by the tragic circumstances of his origin. According to universal legend he is the ghost of a young bridegroom who, on the way to his wedding, was killed either by lightning¹ or by a tiger. Frustrated at the moment of achieving happiness, he lives on, soured and bitter, to trouble mankind.

For this reason Dulha Deo is regarded as particularly touchy and there are many stories about his quick temper and his readiness to take an insult and notice a slight. For example, at Silati the Muria described how he interrupted a Kalar marriage at Bara Dongar. A Muria neighbour had dedicated a pig to Dulha Deo. On the morning of the marriage the pig wandered over to the Kalar's house and the Kalar exclaimed, 'Alas! I have seen a pig's face early in the morning'. When Dulha Deo in the form of the pig heard this, he was very angry and stood snorting with rage in front of the house, refusing to allow the marriage to proceed. At last the Kalar had to touch the pig's feet and promise a goat in honour of Dulha Deo.

A practical reason for Dulha Deo's bad reputation may be the fact that at a marriage everybody is very excited, more or less drunk, and hitches in the procedure and quarrels between relations are always likely to occur. Whenever anything goes wrong, the blame is put on the god who must then be properly appeased. Dulha Deo serves a useful purpose as the divine whipping-boy.

Bhimul Pen

[178] In many Muria villages there is a small shrine of four wooden pillars and some cross-poles, but no roof, round one or two stones that may be anything from one to three feet high. These represent the deity who is called variously Bhimul Pen, Bhima or Bhimsen and his wife Bhimsenin or Gorondi Dokari.

I think it probable that there was a very ancient aboriginal deity, a rain-god called Bhimul, whose cult has been assimilated to that of the mightiest of the Pandava brothers, Bhimsen. The Muria expect both Lingo and Bhimul to provide them with rain in due season. If there is a drought, Bhimul's stone is covered with cow-dung with the idea that he will quickly send rain to wash himself clean.²

[189] But the Muria Bhimul has many other functions. In eastern Kondagaon, he takes the place of Lingo as the founder of the ghotul and its protector. He is regarded as having a special interest in drums and must be worshipped when a mandri drum is made and when it is used at a wedding. He and his wife are associated with stilt-walking. He appears as the cause of thunder and the fertilizer of the crops.

[534] Bhimul has a special festival to himself in order to ensure a good rainfall. The villagers bring in March a little of whatever seed or vegetable is available and throw it over Bhimul's stone. The Gaita makes the usual offerings. Chelik and motiari dance all night.³

¹ Crooke, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 119; Russell and Hirala, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 73.

² To get rain, Bombay Hindu villagers 'bear the phallus of Shiva with cooked rice and curds'.—Enthoven, op. cit., p. 321. The Parja of Bastar are described as fixing a piece of wood into the ground in the name of Bhimsen over which they pour water when they are in need of rain.—Russell and Hirala, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 377.

³ For the widespread cult of this 'heroic godling' both among Hindus and aboriginals, see Crooke, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 66, 89, 230 and Vol. II, p. 125; Grigson, op. cit., pp. 206, 215, 219; S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and their Country* (Calcutta, 1912), p. 98; *The Belgia, p. 59 and passim*; *The Agaria*, p. 95; *The Census of India, 1931*, Vol. I, Part III B, p. 76 (for the cult among the Nagpur Gond); *ibid.*, p. 236 (for the Urali's idea that thunder is the result of a duel between the two Bhims in heaven); Thomson, *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. IV, pp. 36 and 71 (for the Koyi tradition that traces the origin of the tribe to Bhimador who while hunting in the jungle met a wild woman of the woods and married

Plate XXXVIII

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Siraha carrying Anga
and Gotal at Adner



Litter of the Village
Mother outside her
dwelling at Muria

[P. 188 (B)]

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776 Today when the process of god-making in Bastar has burst all bounds, when the clans have been scattered, when new clans have come into existence and old clans divided, there is no longer the neat and tidy arrangement of former days. But there is still a deep attachment to the idea of the clan-territory and the clan-god. Every clan still has its spiritual headquarters, still has the clan-god who is regularly worshipped at the great festivals, still maintains a clan-priest (Pen-Dhurwa or Pen-Waddai) to perform that worship, and still in many cases takes its dead to mingle with the clan-ancestors. What has happened in modern times is that each clan may have several places whither it will go for worship or for the disposal of its dead, and this has confused the picture. But the clan-gods are still of great authority.

● 776
776
614 The Anga is in form and character unique among the aboriginal gods of India. In form it is an arrangement of three parallel poles of saja,¹ bel or ira wood, over which are tied by siari rope cross-pieces of bamboo or saja. The central pole is the actual god, the two side-poles being simply intended to enable his two or four bearers to raise him and carry him about. This central pole has a curious head called *hoko* which resembles that of a snake or bird. At the junctions of the logs and cross-bars there are tufts of peacock feathers. Silver ornaments, symbols of the sun and moon and sometimes plain rupees, are nailed to the ends of the poles. Bands of silver may be hammered round them. Bells are hung round the 'neck'. Sometimes the Anga is two-headed: husband and wife live together. The clan-god of the Maravi at Phunder, who is called Karati Dokara, has two heads each with a hooded cobra nailed to it. So too the Anga at Bhanpuri, Son Kuar, is two-headed. Sometimes the Anga's wife is made in the form of a pole and placed upon him.

The Anga is kept in a special shrine apart from the other gods and is either suspended by ropes from the roof or placed on a bamboo support a couple of feet above the ground. When it is taken abroad or goes to live for a time in someone's house, a special stand must be made for it. The Anga usually has a *jiva* or soul. At Phunder it is a piece of iron carefully preserved under the sacrificial stone in front of the shrine. In Semurgao the soul of Lingo is a bit of iron wrapped in a grass bundle and hung above its body. Sometimes the soul goes abroad of its own accord and has to be replaced with appropriate offerings. At Chinguar, the soul of Son Kuar goes to hunt at night and in the morning feathers are found scattered about his shrine.

When in use, the Anga is kept sometimes very casually. In Dongrigura, I saw one hanging from the roof in a corner of the granary belonging to the Gaika. At Magbada, it was lying crookedly in a broken-down hut in the Gaika's garden. The two-headed Anga, Son Kuar-Macdi, at Bhanpuri, is kept in the Gaika's *bari*-enclosure in a little shed. At Karanji the Naitami Anga, Pila Kuar, is kept in the Gaika's house.

The Anga often has one or more attendants in the form of wooden horses slung from the roof beside it. These horses are taken out at the clan festivals and the mediums dance wildly with them. There are two horses attending the Anga of Lingo at Semurgao. The shrines may be adorned with the skulls of animals killed in the latest ceremonial hunt, with decorated poles or sticks used by the god at festivals, and with symbols of the god's children.

For the Anga is very like a human being. It marries and has children. It has relations both inside and outside the clan. Some of the older gods have very large families. Lingo Pen's brothers, nephews and other relatives are enshrined and worshipped all over the north of the State. The process of

¹ The famous Anga of Lingo at Semurgao is made of saja, for it was this tree he liked as he escaped capture from his great enemy.

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multiplication is accelerated by the Anga's polygamous habits. The son of an Anga may itself be an Anga, or it may take the form of a Gotal—a long pole with a bunch of peacock feathers at the top, or a Lath—a decorated flag attached to a bamboo staff.

The manufacture of an Anga is an elaborate and dangerous business. It is a necessary one because new gods are born from time to time, and the old gods wear out. There is a general idea that an Anga 'dies' every three or four generations. When this happens it leaves its mortal frame and troubles its clansmen until they make it a new one. Sometimes it expresses its will by burning down its shrine—when this happens everything is consumed, but the god itself is unharmed. Sometimes it attacks the village cattle in the form of a tiger. Sometimes it plagues the Gaita with appalling dreams.

The actual making of the god is unusual and interesting; it reveals the logical and straightforward working of the Muria mind. Once it is admitted that the Anga is a sort of person with like passions to ourselves, the rest follows. I will give some typical accounts from villages in the north of the State.

In Kokori the clan-priest told me that when an Anga gets very old and tired, it is taken to a river and 'cooled' by being thrown into the water. The clan-priest prays to the Yer Kanyang. 'Now it is in your charge, you must care for it'. After a time the old Anga sends a dream to the priest and the villagers decide to make a new one. They have to go to another priest of a clan which stands in a marriageable relationship to the Anga's clan and he takes them to a suitable tree. He embraces it, and if his hands meet round the trunk it is a good omen, and an engagement is celebrated.

The following year in the month of Magh they again go to the same priest who offers rice to the tree and says, 'Now we are going to take you away'. He goes round it with a thread, winding it seven times, and then cuts it down. As he is cutting it, he gives the tree liquor from time to time 'in case it should get tired'. They take the wood home, and induce some old man to make the Anga. When it is ready they take it to the river and make offerings to the Yer Kanyang. Every Anga has an umbilical stump with a cord attached and the father's sister of the clan-priest must cut this cord and throw it into the water. Then they bathe the god to purify it after the cutting of the cord. At last it is taken to its temple and a young bull is sacrificed.

Another interesting account comes from Korenda, where the Anga of Budha Dokara and Dokari Deo, the clan-gods of the Partabi and Wadde clans in that area, are made every few generations. The preliminary rites are performed as elsewhere, but later, just before the visiting clan come to fetch the wood for their Anga, the Gaita of the Bhatgaon *blum* (whence the wood must be taken) goes to the path by which they will come and buries seven eggs at intervals along it.

After the visitors have cut and dressed the wood, and are preparing to go home, they whistle loudly. The Gaita and villagers of Bhatgaon are waiting for the signal, and at once come out to catch them in a sort of game of hide-and-seek. The visitors dash for home, but if one of them is unlucky enough to break one of the buried eggs, it turns into a tiger which destroys their cattle.

When the Korenda people get home, they cut the tree into two, the upper half to be used for Budha Dokara and the lower for Dokari Deo. A special enclosure is made near the shrine of the now exhausted clan-god, and the wood is left there until someone comes forward who is willing to make the Anga. There is no limit to the interval; it may last any time from a few weeks to several years. When one or two very old men, who are not likely

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in any case to live much longer, come forward for the work, they set them to make the frames. When they are ready they put an egg on each Anga and make the old men sit 'to hatch them'. They have to sit there until their *jius* (souls) pass from their bodies into the gods. They know when this happens because the Anga begin to shake and tremble of their own accord. Directly this happens, the members of both clans bring a cow or bull and sacrifice it. The old men climb down from their perches and the Gaita breaks the eggs before the gods.

Both Anga now start swinging and are carried on the shoulders of four *Siraha-mediums*. After the usual dance they are placed in their shrines.

But the two old men who made them, and whose souls have passed into their frames, die within a few days.

It is obvious, therefore, that it is highly dangerous to make an Anga. In Koranda at the present time the process of god-making has been delayed, although long overdue; for there is no old Partabi or Wadde willing to take the risk. It is generally said that such men will die within a year; if they do not they are regarded as exceptionally lucky. But their life thereafter is blind and shrunken, miserable to themselves and a heavy charge on their relations. Thus in Kabonga, Mahai made a new Anga and lived for four years before he died. But it is said that for the last three years of his life, he was a senile and helpless figure, longing for the death that was denied him.¹

Repairs to the Anga, which are made every twelve or fifteen years, are less dangerous, but they too should only be undertaken by old men.

The Anga has various functions. Its primary function, of course, is that of god of the clan, keeping its scattered members together and attracting them to its worship. It is honoured at the great clan festivals held once a year in the *foo-ruar* and it may also be taken out to visit the shrines of related clan-gods. At a big clan-festival and at the great Mandai commercial festivals at Jagdalpur, Daitewara, Kōndagaon and elsewhere sometimes a dozen or more of these Anga may be present. The procedure is generally the same. The Anga is worshipped with various offerings; it is taken down to the river and immersed in water, it is then anointed with oil and carried on the shoulders of its bearers; it is 'exercised' by dancing and playing with the other gods. At these festivals I have often watched the Anga attended by a dozen lesser gods, a crowd of drummers and gong-beaters and a vast company of boys and girls, men and women, going round and round the sacred clearing in procession. This is the *Pen Kamita* or Sport of the Gods.

Incantations within the clan is regarded as specially insulting to the Anga and before the guilty can be forgiven offerings must be made to it. If they do not do this the offenders' bodies will swell and their eyes burst. They will be buried apart from the other members of the family or clan, and their children will be given to the despised Lobar in marriage.

As god of the clan the Anga is specially interested in marriages, and in many villages the Muria place one of the marriage crowns upon it or in its shrine. Often too it is concerned in death ceremonies. The memorial menhirs of

¹ An old report, by Captain MacPherson, on the Kōndu refers to one of their destructive deities. 'It is firmly believed that the tree under which the deity is placed must die; that the water in which he is laid must be dried up; that the priest in his service cannot expect to survive four years.'—*N.I. Notes and Queries*, Vol. II (1892), p. 20. When the Kōndu Papuans erect a man's house (*durimo*), an old couple perform the proper ceremonies and die soon after. 'There seems to be an understanding that the endowment of the house with its various magical properties has consumed their vitality.'—G. Landmann, *The Kōndu Papuans of British New Guinea* (London, 1927), p. 22.

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718 members of the clan should be erected, if possible, in its neighbourhood. At
 776 Plunder there is a bamboo bundle containing a small earthen pot hanging
 644 above the Anga of the Maravi clan. When any Maravi dies his relatives carry
 544 his *jiwa* there, open the bamboo bundle and sacrifice a chicken above it, allowing
 776 the blood to fall into the pot. This means that the soul of the dead man will
 718 henceforth live in the pot hanging above his clan-god.

Another important function of the Anga is to serve as a means of detecting
 776 witches, breach of tribal taboo, theft or even to discover loss of property. At
 718 the end of 1940 I witnessed an interesting witch-hunt at Palki in the Narayanpur
 754 Tahsil.

On 16 November 1940, Aitu, the Muria headman of Palki, bought eight
 annas worth of Court Fee stamps and affixed them to an application to the
 Tahsildar of Kondagaon, complaining that in his village the animals were
 dying, people were falling sick and crops were failing, and asking for the
 services of the Anga Deo at Bara Dongar to discover what witch, magician
 or malignant ghost or deity was responsible. On his paying five rupees
 into the Treasury the Tahsildar issued *parwana* instructing the priest in
 charge of the god to take it to Palki (but to no other village) in order to
 discover and thus cure the trouble.

On the 18th, Aitu reached the shrine at Bara Dongar, and almost immediately
 the party set out. There was Deo Singh, the hereditary Halba priest of the
 god, four Muria bearers to carry it and a 'Dhurwa' priest, a Muria specially
 attached to the god's service. In two days they reached Palki and camped
 in a little shed of branches outside the village, placing the god on a rough bed
 of logs and branches in a separate hut.

There Deo Singh told me about this famous Anga. His name was
 Narsingnath Deo and he was born at Amgaon in the Chota Dongar Pargana.
 His father was Morg Raj, who now lives at Paralkot, his mother Devni Dokari
 of Antagarh. His younger brother is the Pat Deo who now lives at Jagdalpur
 and was taken there in the time of Raja Bhairon Deo to hunt witches. Here,
 of course, Deo Singh was talking in theological language: actually the Raja,
 hearing of the fame of the Anga in the wilds, had a copy made and installed
 in the palace at Jagdalpur. For some time the custom was to bring the original
 god from Jagdalpur and send the copy to take its place; but in time this custom
 was dropped and today the Anga in the palace acts independently of its
 prototype.

Raja Bhairon Deo, continued my informant, at one time had both Anga
 at Jagdalpur. There was a great epidemic, and none of the gods was able to
 help, so the Raja ordered them all to be thrown into the Indrawati river. But
 only Anga Deo and his young brother Pat Deo floated on the surface and
 drifted to the shore. This made them very famous, but the Raja felt that it
 was wrong to keep two such gods in Jagdalpur and he sent the Anga Narsingnath
 to Bara Dongar, where he has since resided.¹

This Anga is made of bel wood. Every three generations it is remade.
 It is decorated with a silver snake and a sun and moon in silver. The old
 worn-out images are thrown into a deep pond at Amgaon.

On the 20th of November the witch hunt at Palki began. It was only
 with great difficulty that I was able to be present, for the villagers concealed
 both the time and place of the ceremony, and in fact were sending me off in the

¹ For another account see W. V. Geigun's Introduction to my *Muria Murder and Suicide* (1943), pp. x i. According to Geigun's information the Jagdalpur god was copied from the Narayanpur god.

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opposite direction. Once I had made an offering of silver to the god, however, they became very friendly and I was able to witness all that happened.

Carried by four men, and accompanied by the village elders, the Anga Deo was carried from house to house round the village. The god stopped before each house, and the women had to come out with an offering of a leaf-cup of rice and a copper coin, and walk under the god and away the other side. If all was well the Dharwa placed a ring of amra leaf on the threshold and a bit of iron slag and hammered it with an axe.

But in two houses the Anga scented trouble; he refused to accept the offerings of the householders, swinging round indignantly, then rushing to and fro, whirling and turning in an alarming manner. He pointed out an old man and woman in one house, and the householder in another as specially affected by the evil. The priests hastily poured liquor in front of the god 'for he becomes thirsty when there is some mischief in his presence'.

At last they took the Anga back to his hut outside the village and everybody sat round to discuss what had happened and to consider what was to be done. On this occasion the mediums proclaimed that it was not a magician or witch, but a number of deities affronted at not receiving sufficient honour—Pendrawardin, Pardahin, Koriya Pat, Garba Rau and the local ancestors—who were causing the trouble. That day and the next day were spent in sacrifice to the Anga and divinations by the local mediums. On the morning of the third day diagnosis having been fully established, they went to effect a cure.

The bearers carried the Anga to the first house which had been shown as 'infected'. They stood before the door and a Siraha-medium sat down before it. The god 'climbed' on him and he revealed what things were needed to appease the angry gods. He made two little images of black wax to represent the *Ang* digging-bar of Koriya Pat and the axe of Pendrawardin. The owner of the house brought out a basket of rice and many little leaf-packets of parched gram, rice, lamp-black, rice-flour, haldi. The medium danced and postured before the god, and the Dharwa took two chickens for the Rau, a pig for Pendrawardin, and a goat for Koriya Pat and made them eat a little rice. Each householder present put a rice-mark on the goat saying, 'Whatever evil disease, ghost or god is troubling us, take to yourself and carry away'.

After this the bearers were suddenly impelled to take the Anga out into the jungle and we all followed. The Anga wandered about erratically, but at last came to a halt at a point where two paths crossed, before an ant-hill. The medium fell into a trance again and called out instructions in a high clear voice. The Dharwa cleared the ground and made a cross-pattern of black and white. He placed seven little piles of rice in a row. He made the sacrificial animals eat, and then killed them, dropping the blood on every pile of rice. With his knife he made a circle to enclose the god, and nailed a piece of slag into the ground.

Then the old man and woman who had been proclaimed as 'infected' came to the front and, holding bunches of *chir* grass (the grass from which brooms are made) behind them, broke them in their hands, threw them away with a gesture of finality, spat and walked hurriedly home without looking round, and by another way. The Anga also was taken home by another route back to its camp.

I was not able to see the ceremonies for the purification of the other house. The Anga demanded an offering of the fur of a wild squirrel, and this took some time to find. Two days later, however, the rites were performed and the village was cleared of its supernatural dangers.

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THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

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The Bara Dongar party, richer by a few copper coins and a little rice, returned home the next day.

Among the Bastar gods, these Anga are the most widely regarded by the aboriginal population. They are homely and familiar, and closely related to the life of every day. They constantly intervene in human affairs. They are keenly sensitive to the presence of evil. Their position as gods of the clan gives them great influence, for it means they have to do with marriage and death, and all offenses against clan custom and morality. The cult of the Anga is thus still very much alive and since it has been assimilated to the Hinduism of the Ruling Chief it is likely to endure.

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But though the future of the Anga cult is assured, its origin is obscure. It is just possible, however, that this god whose name seems to be connected with the Sanskrit-Hindi word *anga*, meaning 'body',¹ has developed out of the cult of the dead and in particular from the custom of using the corpse carried on its bier as a means of divination.

Russell and Hiralal give an account of this for the Gond of the Central Provinces. I have not myself seen it in Bastar, but I am told that there is an exactly similar practice and Grigson has recorded it for the Hill Muria.² At a Gond funeral, says Russell, when the body has been carried on its hurdle to the disposal ground, 'the bearers with the body on their shoulders face round to the west, and about ten yards in front of them are placed three saja leaves in a line with a space of a yard between, the first representing the supreme being, the second disembodied spirits, and the third witchcraft. Sometimes a little rice is put on the leaves. An axe is struck three times on the ground, and a villager now cries to the corpse to disclose the cause of his death, and immediately the bearers, impelled, as they believe, by the dead man, carry the body to one of the leaves. If they halt before the first, then the death was in the course of nature; if before the second, it arose from the anger of offended spirits; if before the third witchcraft was the cause. The ordeal may be thrice repeated, the arrangement of the leaves being changed each time. If witchcraft is indicated as the cause of death, and confirmed by the repeated tests, the corpse is asked to point out the sorcerer or witch, and the body is carried along until it halts before someone in the crowd, who is at once seized and disposed of as a witch. Sometimes the corpse may be carried to the house of a witch in another village to a distance of eight or ten miles. In Mandla in such cases a Gunia or exorciser formerly called on the corpse to go forward and point out the witch. The bearers then, impelled by the corpse, made one step forward and stopped. The exorciser then again adjured the corpse, and they made a step, and this was repeated again and again until they halted in front of the supposed witch. All the beholders and the bearers themselves thus thought that they were impelled by the corpse, and the episode is a good illustration of the power of suggestion.'³

¹ In *The Ocean of Story*, there are puns on the Lord of Anga and the body. Yasakhta 'came to earth to conceal his body', a shamesha pun, says Pomeroy, which could also mean 'to protect the realm of Anga'.—H. M. Pomeroy, *The Ocean of Story* (London, 1924-8), Vol. III, p. 13. And further, 'it is related in the *Ramayana* that Madana, the god of love, incurred the displeasure of Mahadeva. He fled from the hermitage of the latter to escape his consuming anger, and the region where "he cast off his body (Anga)", or rather where it was reduced to ashes, has since been known by the name of Anga, and the God of Love has since been called by the name of "Ananga" (without body)'.—Mundolal Dey, 'Notes on Ancient Anga or the District of Bhagalpur', *JASS*, Vol. X, p. 327.

² Grigson, *op. cit.*, p. 37a.

³ Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 90.

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The similarity between this description and the account which I have just given of the witch hunt at Palki is very striking. The dead are generally believed to communicate their desires to mankind and to give them instruction about the ordering of their lives. The dead are, of course, specially connected with the clan and its continuity. It is not altogether impossible that out of a cult of the Departed, where in former days the bier was used more than at present for divination and to express the will of the gods, there gradually developed the custom of substituting some symbol for the corpse and at last the 'Anga' for the bier. 754 769 776 778

This suggestion gets some support from a dream seen by a Bison-horn Muria convict shortly before the fatal quarrel which led to murder and his imprisonment. He dreamt of an Anga, a drum and a village-trumpet. The Anga, he said, stood for the corpse of the murdered man being taken out for burial and the drum and trumpet suggested the funeral. The Anga, he admitted, clearly foreshadowed his terrible deed had he only had the wit to understand it. 776 787

It is just possible, of course, that the clan-god takes its name from the head of Anga, a great kingdom—one of the chief sixteen—of ancient India, which has been identified with the present district of Bhagalpur and part of the Santal Pargana. Its boundaries are uncertain and may have also included the districts of Birbhum, Murshidabad and Manbhum.² At the time of the *Arakha Vada*, the inhabitants were known as Anga and 'the contemptuous way they were mentioned suggests these were aboriginals'.³ A connexion between the Muria and Bihar is not impossible and is suggested by many cultural similarities, but I have not found anything resembling the Bastar clan-god in the ethnographic records of Bihar. 776 174

V. MURIA TEMPLES

Mān ta pōu nahi ta pūthar.—If you believe, it is a god; if not, it is a stone.—Muria saying.

J. D. Unwin defined a temple as a 'roofed building other than a grave-house, in which the power in the universe manifests itself and which is specially erected and maintained in order that a right relation may be preserved with that power, the building being such that a man can stand upright inside it'.⁴ On this definition the Muria build temples and are in Unwin's 'deistic stage' of culture—a stage which, according to Unwin, is only achieved by those peoples which forbid pre-nuptial intercourse. The Muria provide a striking exception to Unwin's general theory and throw some light upon it. 778

In a few Muria villages there are no temples. In Almer there is nothing but a few stone seats under saja trees, where the Village Mother is worshipped and the New Eating ceremonies performed. In Kajen the Village Mother forbade the erection of any shrines. But in most villages there are several buildings that fulfil the above definition of a temple. Sometimes these are scattered about the village, one put in the jungle, another in someone's field, a third actually in the compound of a house. In other villages, as for example in Bayanar and Adner, the shrines are all together in one spot where the divine power manifests itself. In Kabonga, the shrines looked like a little village. 778 346

¹ See *Muria Murder and Suicide*, p. 213.

² Day, op. cit., p. 318.

³ J. D. Unwin, *Social and Cultural* (London, 1934), p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

- 778 The buildings vary greatly. Some are solid mud houses with strong doors,
346 others are open sheds, a few stand in substantial compounds of their own
with pillars and swings before the entrance. The furniture and symbols
inside vary as greatly. In the solid buildings there is generally something
that might be damaged by cattle or blown away in a storm—little brass
images of horses, elephants and bulls, elaborate litters for Danteshwari,
bunches of peacock feathers. Flags and very small images are wrapped up
and put into an earthen pot hung from the roof. The long Gutal poles
(with a big bunch of peacock feathers at the top) are slung from the roof,
and the Anga Deo are hung on ropes from the roof or placed resting on
bamboos. Other symbols of the gods are chains, spears, axes, digging tools,
whips of cow-hair, shields.

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FIG. 24. Brass horse, made by Ghasia, of
a type often placed in Muria shrines
Height 9 1/2"

god, and there are several big stones placed together to form a hearth for the cooking of the new grain and pulses or sacrificial animals. The gods are often taken out of their temples to be worshipped, at least on all major festivals, but the sacramental cooking is done inside. So you may often see big wooden spoons stuck in the roof. Outside the temple, there may be a swing with a spiked seat on which the mediums can prophesy; there is often a row of wooden pillars, each with a stone seat before it, to which certain visiting gods can be tied, and there may be a stone for special offerings to the dead.

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On the wooden pillars, there are often phallic symbols. At Metawand I saw an elaborately carved vagina showing the clitoris and labia; there are similar carvings at Markabera and Bayanar.

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I will describe one or two representative shrines, for this will give a better idea of them than any general account. At Markabera is the *pan-raver* of the Wadder clan, and near the temple is a row of menhirs erected for members of the clan who have died in the neighbourhood. But Markabera is not the original *pan-raver* of this clan. That is at Kakori, where the clan-god, the Anga Bope Harma, has his residence. Many years ago, Bope Harma had a son at Kakori who was named Bhuniriya; two brothers of the Wadder clan lived there as the Dhurwa Pujari. After a time Bope Harma ordered one of the Wadder brothers to go to Markabera and make a new *pan-raver* there with a temple to Bhuniriya.

The temple is built with nine wooden pillars, fixed in place by the clan-priest who put iron slag at the bottom of each hole. Bundles of grass called gubbs were prepared by a Karanga, a clan *shomawa* to the Wadder clan; mahua flowers and water were offered them and they were tied to the top of the pillars before thatching. The roof was then thatched, but no walls were made. Every ten years, the *pan-raver* building is renewed.

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

horseback; so do the Korku on their carved memorial tablets.¹ The Muria often offer horses of clay or brass (Fig. 24) at their shrines. Sir Lewis Fernald



After a photograph by G. F. Ramanathan
FIG. 25. Gond shrine near Nagair, Chanda District

discovered a remarkable iron horse among clay horses offered to a village god on the top of a hill of manganese-ore in the Chhindwara District, which he thought might be compared with the horse offered to the Southern Indian deity Iyengar.²

One of the oldest of Indian sacrifices is the *asvamedha*, or horse-sacrifice, which has been traced to Scythia. 'There has always', says Penzer, 'been a close connexion between horses and the sea-god; and also with the sun. The latter connexion is due not merely, I think, to the fact that the horse was the "vehicle"—of the sun-god, but because, through its swiftness, strength and activity, it was itself a symbol of the sun.' Penzer gives an account of the rite, which included the horse's consecration and its release for a year's wandering before the actual sacrifice. After its death, the queen lay with the animal so that its great powers of fertility might be transferred to her.³ Fraser describes rites for the horse among the Russians and Chinese.⁴ The Greeks sacrificed horses to the sea-god.

This association of the horse with magic, worship and sacrifice provides a background to its connexion with divination and ecstatic trance among the

¹ See W. Koppers 'Monuments to the Dead of the Shills and Other Primitive Tribes in Central India', *Annals Lateralensis*, Vol. VI (1942), *passim*; D. H. Gordon, 'Korku Memorial Tablets', *Man*, 1936, Vol. XIX.

² L. Fernald, 'An Iron Horse from the Central Provinces', *JRASB*, Vol. II (1936), pp. 211-24.

³ *The Queen of Story*, Vol. IV, pp. 14-16.

⁴ *Panorama*, Vol. IV, pp. 1971.

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But I was able to see it at Almer a few days later on 23 April. This hunt is mainly the business of the chelik directed by the Kaser-Gaita, but other and more experienced hunters join in, for success in the hunt is the best of omens, not only for a plentiful supply of wild fruit but later for a fine harvest. A crowd therefore of chelik and older men led by the Kaser-Gaita with their axes and bows and arrows, some with gourds of gruel to refresh them on the way, gathered on the path leading towards the jungle.

The Gaita laid his own bow and arrows and axe together with a chelik's bow and arrows and axe across the path. He made a small doll out of dub grass and a grass bow and arrow and placed these in front. He made three piles of earth and on each of these placed a ring of aonra leaf and a branch of tendu. He made fire with a fire-drill (not a saw) and lit a little incense which he offered to Tallur Muttai the Earth Mother, Mundri Dokari the wife of Budha Deo, and the Departed, crying to the earth to give good hunting. He waved the fire over the arrows, pressed his right hand hard on the ground, then carried away the grass doll and bow and arrow towards the village and threw them to the side of the path. At the same time the ghotul Sirdar picked up the bows and arrows and axes with a cry of triumph, crossed the line and went quickly down the path without looking back.

That day in Almer they got nothing, but the following evening, in Bandopal, the chelik returned with a jungle-fowl and a young chital. As they cut the chital up, they removed the tip of the ears, the tongue, the hoofs and liver; these bits were done up in three leaf-packets and cooked separately. The Kaser-Gaita took these packets and offered them to the local gods; a little was left over and put aside for himself. The flesh was cooked where it was cut up—in the fields outside the village—and a little wrapped up in leaves was given to every household.

We now return to Masora for the Marka Pandum. The different clans in this village kept the festival in different places, each with their own clan-gods; I went with the Poyami people and their Anga Deo to a sacred grove near a small stream in the jungle about a mile from the village. Here we found the gods—the Anga Deo whose name was Lal Sai, the Gutal pole called Lain, and the tall flag-staff and flag of white cloth, with sun and moon and nine little men worked on it in red which represents Budha Deo—placed in position under a saja tree. A brass horse for the Rau was under another tree, and a broken sword and shield for ancestors who had died in battle long ago.

Not far from the gods the chelik had cleared and cow-dunged a patch of ground and were busy cooking rice and koura. There were baskets of mangoes, char and karmata fruit ready for the pot. In front of the gods also 'these three sisters, mango, char and karmata', had been placed.

Presently three of the chelik took their hunting-horns and blew them as a sign that the proceedings were to start. The mediums obtained leave to begin and the gods were taken up and carried to the stream. There the Gaita first offered eggs, liquor and aonra rings to the Water Maidens and took the gods down into the stream and washed them thoroughly. The Gaita crossed the stream and offered eggs and rings and liquor to the Forest Maidens for the safety of the cattle that might graze there.

After the bathing the gods were brought back and anointed with mahus oil. Then two of the Saraha-mediums sat in trance before the gods and discussed with them in a curiously intimate and homely way what offerings were to be made and what the gods would do in return. The clan-priest took chickens that were brought for every Poyami household and two pigs and persuaded them to eat a little of the rice that was piled in small heaps before the gods.

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Plate XLVIII



The dhanga's
'mistress' at
Burhanbey



The punishment-
pillar at Agra

[p. 224 (d)]

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE LEGEND OF LINGO PEN

I. THE SHRINE OF LINGO PEN

776 IN the wild wooded country at the top of the hills, as you go up from Antagarh
774 towards Amabera, is the little village of Semurgao, and in the forest that
778 surrounds the village, on a cliff overlooking a tiny stream, is the shrine of
Lingo Pen who was once honoured by the Gond and Pardhan all over the
Central Provinces. Today, as a living force, his cult is probably confined to
the north of Bastar, and to the Muria, to whom he has given many deities and
the most cherished of their institutions.

778 In Semurgao, Lingo's shrine, a substantial thatched hut, is maintained
774 by the Muria, but his priest is a Pardhan—Deo Singh of the Koreti Nang
sept—who sings and plays before him on the dhasir-fiddle which is also Lingo's
dwelling-place. The shrine is not unworthy of this venerable deity, the lord
of all the aboriginal gods of Bastar. Under a spacious roof lies the Anga of
Lingo suspended on a swing and sheltered by a great screen of peacock's
feathers. At the four corners of the swing are bunches of the same feathers,
and at the Anga's side is Lingo's *jinn* or soul, a piece of iron like a ploughshare
wrapped in grass. Round Lingo's neck is a bell, his son Netturgundi. To the
right is his throne, a large cup-shaped stone. Above hangs an iron drum and a
hunting-horn. From the roof are suspended pots containing Palo, the sacred
cloth, and Lingo's two horses, crooked sticks adorned with feathers on which
the mediums ride in ecstasy before him.

794 Every three years there is a great festival at Semurgao, when Lingo is
796 brought out of his shrine and is worshipped with pigs, goats and bulls. From
778 all over the Jhorian, Amabera and Antagarh Parganas and from Kanker State
come the pilgrims bringing their gods with them, 'for Lingo is Raja and Bastar
is his kingdom'. At Alor also, in a clearing in the heart of the jungle, is a
four-foot pillar of mahua wood in honour of Lingo, and every three years there
is a festival. Indeed throughout northern Bastar you may find Lingo's
relatives and hear his legend, a token of the strength and distribution of
his cult.¹

II. THE LINGO LEGEND IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

773 Later in this chapter I present several versions of the Lingo legend as it is
current among the Muria of Bastar, where its outstanding feature is its account
of the founding of the ghotal. But first let us consider some other versions
of the story which have been recorded in the Central Provinces.

The first of these versions was taken down by the Rev Stephen Hislop
from a 'Pardhan priest of the Gond at Nagpur' in the Gondli tongue, and was
later edited, translated and published by Sir Richard Temple, in 1866.²
Unfortunately we have no indication of the distribution of the legend, nor
indeed whether—in the form recorded by Hislop—it was known to any other

¹ There is a shrine to Lingal Pen at Chopal in the Dantewara Tahsil, but I do not know whether the Muria here identify him with the Lingo of the north.

² S. Hislop, *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*. Edited by R. Temple, 1866. Large extracts from Temple's translation were reproduced by Bishop Eyre Chatterton in his *The Story of Gondwana* (London, 1916) and many of Temple's notes used without acknowledgment. A brief summary is given by Russell and Hiralal, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 478.

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Rubbish hung over the road to purify a village

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Leader of the Diwali dance

Plate LXXXIX



Chelik with sacred fire

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

X 883
X 484
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words. From this shrine he took a bunch of peacock's feathers which he handed to the Gain—the leader of the singers.

The chelik now assemble outside the Gaita's house and the Gain takes the spear in his hand and they dance the stick-dance for the first time. After that they dance before the ghotul. Then they go with the Gaita and a Siraha along the road to their first point of call. When they reach the village boundary, the Gaita draws a line across the path and places on it seven rings of acora leaf, seven bits of iron slag and makes seven little piles of rice. The Gaita and Siraha squat down by the side of the path, and the boys step across the line one by one, exclaiming 'Let us return safely'. Should any magical or supernatural danger be threatening one of the boys, the Siraha will immediately react by falling into a trance or jerks, and the expedition will be halted until the danger is discovered and removed.

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X 883
X 484
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Once the boys have crossed the line, they have definitely passed out of the ordinary world. They are dedicated to Lingo Pen and must be about his business. They are charged with spiritual power and open to spiritual attack. The rules and taboos of the expedition must be rigorously observed. Some of these rules seem to be intended to segregate the boys from all the associations of sex; others to protect them from catching the spiritual infection of strange villages.

I have already noticed the rule of chastity. Reinforcing this are rules forbidding the chelik to enter the compound of any ghotul or even to touch its fence. Except for the six leaders, the other boys may dance with the motiari, but they must not touch them. They dance in separate rows. They must not pass under the Diwali decorations in any house—for to these boys Diwali has no associations with the Feast of Lights, but is rich with memories of erotic adventure with the girls who have visited their villages for the Diwali dance. Nor may the boys enter any door or touch the thatch of any roof; they must not eat from the hands of a married woman; they must be careful that not even the shadow of a woman in her menses falls upon them. Such regulations remind the boys of their separation for the time being from all domestic ties.

Should a boy's ghotul-wife begin her period while he is on the expedition, the fact is shown him in a dream, and he must make or promise an offering to Lingo. The boys are generally warned of danger by dreaming about tigers.

In order to protect the chelik from the infection of a strange village, there is a rule that the fire with which they cook their food must always be lighted from the need-fire smouldering on the point of the sacred spear. On the other hand they are allowed to eat from the motiari of the village they visit—but their own boys must serve the food. Two boys are appointed cooks, one to see to rice, one to the pulse and salt. The chelik and motiari of the village visited may bring food, even cooked food, but they should not talk much and must soon go away. When they lie down to sleep round the fire in their little camps under trees near the ghotul, the boys must light this fire also with the need-fire.

They are not allowed to cross over a fallen tree. They must keep to the same order and pairs with which they started. At the first dance of all, the Gaita cries 'Make up your pairs' and henceforth they must never change partners. They must always dance in the same order. A boy must always sleep with his partner, and with no other. If they break this rule they will die, and it is said that in Talabera this did actually happen. If one member of a pair dies, his jori or mate will die also. Probably a quite sensible rule to ensure the technical perfection of the dancing has been exalted into a

THE BISON-HORN MARIA

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times in a little house of their own, sometimes in a room lent 361
to them by an old widow. Where there is a separate hut, 383
this is sometimes also used for the segregation of menstruating 343
women. In a few places there are special buildings for this
purpose. The houses of the headmen are not built in any
special position, but those of the Siraha medicine-men can
generally be distinguished by the little huts for patients which
are built round them. On the outskirts of the village will 778
be found the shrine of the Village Mother, and in a grove 764
nearby there may be the temple of one of the clan-gods.
Beyond is the village burial place and cremation ground.
Rows of menhirs in memory of the Dead may be seen in the
majority of villages.

There is no standard pattern for the Maria house any more 342
than there is for the Maria village. Most of the houses
consist of three rooms, each a separate building with eaves at



DETAIL

Maria women's
dancing-stick
(3½' long)

different levels, which make
them look, as Grigson says,
'like card houses'. The
first room, which is really
a built-in verandah, is the
kitchen. It leads into a 293
bedroom and this in turn
opens into an inner and
secret room mostly occupied
by a platform for storing
grain and other possessions;
in one corner is the Pot of 767
the Departed about which
centres the Maria cult of
the Ancestors. Frequently
two or more such houses
are built round a courtyard,
part of which is occupied
by a more or less open
building where people sit to
talk and work.

The houses are generally
clean and pleasant, but
littered with a great variety of domestic and agricultural
impediments. Outside are the pig-styes and cattle-sheds, 343

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no Dead to people their kingdom. But if this human being⁷⁵⁴ were to eat a bit of the liver of his own son, then there would⁷⁷⁹ be deaths in the world and the Maria himself would have learned the knowledge of evil and death and would become a magician.

'The Maria, little knowing that when Nandraj Guru said "pigeon", he meant his son, asked one of the gods to go to his



A typical Anga Pen, a clan-god. Carried by four men, it is sometimes used to detect witches.

house and fetch the bird. The god killed the boy, removed the liver, and the Maria and the seven gods ate it together. As the Maria unwittingly ate the liver of his own son, he was filled with the knowledge of death and evil, and became the first sorcerer. Before he died, he taught his own disciples the art and today many men know how to harm and kill their enemies. But in every case the liver must be obtained, for^[826] the liver is the *jioe* (soul) of all beings.

In Khutepal the Maria said that they began learning magic⁷⁵⁴ in the month of Juna. The young disciples must go to the jungle and set up a small stone which represents an *uraskal* menhir. To the left of the pillar they place another stone flat on the ground to represent a *danyakal*. Then between the *uraskal* and the *danyakal* a number of small stones are placed in line from right to left. This line of stones represents one kind of magic, say the magic for curing the sick. Parallel to this they place a second line of small stones. This represents another kind of magic, say doing injury to an enemy.